

The University of Chicago

THE MISSION OF BURZOE IN THE
ARABIC KALILAH AND DIMNAH

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1934

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By

ALEXANDER MACKIE HONEYMAN

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Act. Or.</u>	<u>Acta Orientalia.</u>
<u>AJSL</u>	<u>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.</u>
<u>Burzoe</u>	Theodor Nöldeke, <u>Burzoes Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalilah wa Dimnah</u> , Strassburg: 1912.
<u>Ch</u> ²	<u>La version arabe de Kalilah et Dimna</u> , publiée par le P.L. Cheikho S.J. (2de édition revue et corrigée), Beyrouth: 1923.
<u>DS</u>	Silvestre De Sacy, <u>Calila et Dimnah</u> , Paris: 1816.
<u>JAOS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</u>
<u>JCap</u>	"Johannis de Capua Directorium Humanae Vitae," in Leopold Hervieux, <u>Les Fabulistes Latins</u> , vol. 5, Paris: 1899.
<u>KD II</u>	Chapter of the Mission in the Arabic <u>Kalilah and Dimnah</u> .
<u>Not. et Ext.</u>	<u>Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale.</u>
<u>OSpan</u>	Clifford G. Allen, <u>L'Ancienne Version Espagnole de Kalila et Digna</u> , Macon: 1905.
<u>Pant.</u>	Johannes Hertel, <u>Das Pañcatantra</u> , Leipzig and Berlin: 1914.
<u>RSO</u>	<u>Rivista degli Studi Orientali.</u>
<u>Tab.</u>	Nöldeke, <u>Geschichte der Perser und Araber aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari</u> , Leyden: 1879.
<u>Tant.</u>	Hertel, <u>Tantrakhyayika</u> , Die älteste Fassung des <u>Pañcatantra</u> , Leipzig and Berlin: 1909.
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</u>

Chapter I

The Manuscripts and Versions

The Book of Kalilah and Dimnah opens with four introductory chapters of different dates and provenance. The first of these, found only in some of the Arabic MSS and in none of the older versions, is an introduction by 'Alī b. Shāh or Behbūd called Jehuda b. Sajwān, late in date and unimportant in contents. The third¹ is a chapter by the Arabic translator, b. al-Muqaffa', on the subject-matter and significance of the book. The fourth chapter, attributed by many MSS to Buzurjmīhr, celebrated as the vizier of Chosroes I of Persia and no doubt containing amplifications from the pen of b. al-Muqaffa', is an autobiography of Burzoe.² Concerning the second chapter³ Nöldeke wrote in 1912⁴ "Wie es sich mit dem Bericht über die Sendung Burzoes nach Indien verhält, ist noch unklar"; and Gabrieli in 1932⁵ "la storia cioè della missione di Burzōe in India e della furtiva traduzione dell'opera resta di autenticità e paternità oscure."

The chapter describing the expedition of Burzoe to India is wanting, as is also his autobiography, in the defective and ill-preserved MS, dated A.D. 1526, which is the only extant representative of the Syriac translation made from the Pehlevi

¹According to the most frequent order of the chapters.

²Cf. Nöldeke, Burzoes Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalila wa Dimna; RSO, XIV, 14; Burzōe scheint die richtige Aussprache des Namens zu sein. Nöldeke, loc.cit. p. 1.

³Here referred to as KD II.

⁴Loc.cit. p. 1.

⁵RSO, XIII, 202.

by Būd the Periodent about 570 A.D. In the Arabic line of descent, known to us from the many varying texts ascribed to the earliest Arabic translator, Rūzbeh the son of Dādūyeh, called ‘Abdallah b. al-Muqaffa‘ (d. 141 A.H.) and from the versions thereof, there are two forms of this chapter. Both are wanting, deliberately, so far as we know, in the Arabic versifications of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Habbārīya (d. 504 A.H.) and¹ of ‘Abd al-Mu‘min b. Ḥasan al-Ṣaghani (640 A.H.) and in the new Syriac version (S. X or XI A.D.), the Persian of the Anwār-i Suhailī of Ḥusain b. ‘Alī al-Wā‘iz al-Kāšifī (end of S. XV.) and of the ‘Iyār-i Dāniš of Abū ‘l-Faḍl (A.H. 996), the Turkish Humāyūn-Nāmeḥ of ‘Alī b. Ṣāliḥ (c. 1516) and the Hebrew of Rabbi Joel (S. XII init.), also as the result of accidents in transmission in Leyden 1544 and in Paris Arabe 3478, which also lacks the end of III and the beginning of IV.

The longer, historically more probable and more widely disseminated form of KD II, with the title "Chapter on the Sending of Burzoe to the Land of India in Search of the Book Kalilah and Dimnah" or some variation thereof, is found in the majority of the Arabic MSS and in the chief editions, and, amongst the versions in the Greek of Simeon Seth (c. 1080 A.D.) and the Persian of Naṣrallah, where it is ascribed to b. al-Muqaffa‘. Some of the Arabic MSS contain the story in a form nearly as long again as the other, but without much difference of substance, the additional matter being largely an encomium of Chosroes Anushirwan and of the wisdom that he fosters. Amongst the MSS examined, Paris Arabes 3471, 3472, 3474, 3475, and 5881, Bodleian Pococke 400, British Museum Add. 7494 24350, B.M. Add. 7413/7494, Vienna

¹ So far at least as the notices indicate.

A.F. 298 (152)¹ Borgiano 213, Vaticano 367², B.M. 7414, Guidi's M³ have this longer form of the account of the Mission. On the basis of the classification of the MSS of KD according to the order of chapters in the lists and in the text, adopted by Sprengling in AJSL, XL, 91 sqq., all of these MSS fall into his Class C, except Paris Arabe 3475 which belongs to his E Class. Borgiano 213 and Vienna A.F. 298 (Flügel 1836) were not examined by him, but should both be added to his Class C. The list of 213 begins, - "And it has sixteen chapters and two 'Risalahs'; one of the Risalahs is King Anushirwan's Dispatching of Burzoe the Physician in search of the Book 'Kalilah and Dimnah'; and the second Risalah is that of Buzurjmihir b. Bukhtikān in praise of Anushirwan, the King, namely Chosroes b. Qubād, King of Persia." The list continues in the regular C order from III to XI. The book proper commences with "Record of the first Risalah"; then save for a marginal note- "The Risalah...to Buzurjmihir in praise of King Anushirwan"⁴ at the conclusion of this chapter there is no trace of the second Risalah. The rest of the book, with VII Bilad and then XI King's Son and Fellows after Vd Ape, goes as far as X Traveller and IX Devotee and Guest; it contains several displacements and repetitions, but its affinities are with the order C.

The list of the Wiener Codex speaks similarly of sixteen chapters "...and a Risalah at the beginning of the book which is Chosroes Anushirwan's Dispatching of Burzoe the physician to the land of India in search of Kalilah and Dimnah, and the third (sic) Risalah at the beginning of the book, belonging to Buzurjmihir b.

¹Flügel 1836.

²Guidi's V.

³Biblioteca dei monaci maroniti di S. Antonio Abate in Roma.

⁴What is written in the gap may be a contraction for "is wanting, missing" or for "the second."

Bukhtikan in praise of King Anushirwan, Chosroes son of Qubād, King of Persia." The sixteen chapters, both in the list and the text exhibit the usual C order from III Muqaffa' to XI King's Son, ending regularly X, XI, VII, IX; this text inserts XII King of Mice after VII, and gives as the first Risalah II Mission, proceeding then to III Muqaffa' with no hint of the second Risalah.

Here, too may be mentioned the two MSS acquired by the Oriental Institute since Sprengling's classification. One is a fragmentary MS, here called R and chiefly interesting for its illustrations. Its text begins with KD II Ch² 22,2, and its readings are of the D Class. The other MS (Q) has in its list the regular order of D as far as XI King's Son and Fellows; in the text the last three chapters are omitted, and after Vc, instead of the usual D order, the sequence is VIa, Ve, VIb, Vd, VIc, VII, VIII. The text of II is D. The reading Abū 'l-Ma'ālī in the title of III probably results from a confusion with the kunya of Naṣrallah.

It is well known that the Old Spanish version made for the Infanta who in 1251 A.D. became Alfonso X, together with its descendant, the Latin Liber de Dina et Kalila of Raimundus de Biterris (Raimond de Béziers, 1313)¹ and the imperfectly preserved Hebrew version of Rabbi Joel (S.XII init.) with the derivative "Directorium vitae humanae" of John of Capua (c. 1270) and their remoter offspring descend from a common archetype. They agree, so far as they are complete, with the Hebrew of Jacob ben Ele'azar and with the Arabic MSS Pococke 400, B.M. 24350, Paris Arabe 3467 and B.M. 3900 Or. in containing a different account of Burzoe's journey to India, according to which he goes in search of a plant

¹From the middle of XII King's Son, Raimond follows John of Capua.

which will restore the dead to life; learning afterwards that the dead are the unenlightened and that the plant is the wisdom contained in the book KD which will give them enlightenment, he procures the book and brings it to Anushirwan.¹ It is significant that the first three of these MSS fall into Sprengling's Class C, and that the first two also contain the other version of the Mission in the longer form found amongst the MSS of the Class C. 3467 also has the other form of the tale, in a text approximating to that of Cheikho's edition, but the MS is badly mutilated and so repaired as to obscure much of the writing; it is fragmentary for both accounts of the Mission and it is not possible to tell whether II Liber is in the longer or the shorter form. The chapter-order of 3900, like that of the Hebrew and OSpan group is that of Sprengling's Class E.

¹Cf. the fable found in Joseph Kimchi (c. 1170 A.D. in Provence) ad Prov. Sol. XI, 30, referred to by Steinschneider in ZDMG, XXVII, 561, according to which the wise man seeking the plant of life is told by the Indian sages that the reference is to the books of wisdom. Kimchi knew Arabic and so need not have taken it from the Hebrew version.

Chapter II

The Search for the Life-restoring Herb

All four of the MSS containing II Herba are of respectable antiquity, and they agree rather closely in their readings. B.M. Add. 24350 (MCCCCXLI) of about the fourteenth century and Paris Arabe 3467¹ which is slightly older, may be from an immediate common ancestor. Close to these is the Oxford MS, Bodleian Pococke 400², dated A.H. 755; more distant is London MS, B.M. 3900 Or., dated 1166 A.H., which excels the others in the reproduction of nomina propria, but contains omissions due to haplography and one major variant and possibly several of its numerous minor variants due to contamination from other sources.

The versions tend to support the other MSS as against 3900; the apparent anomaly that the versions, following as they do the chapter-order E, of 3900, should yet follow the text of the MSS which adhere to the chapter-order C is alleviated but not removed by the consideration that its date is so much later than that of the others. More important is the presence in the other three MSS of both accounts of the Mission. We are forced to see in 3900 the last and somewhat degenerate survivor of a family, probably never very large, some of whose members produced in the Hebrew and Spanish a loyal and recognisable offspring, while others (24350, Poc. 400, 3467 or their progenitors), being adopted into another family almost lost the evidence of their descent.

¹DS, p.60.

²Uri's Catalogus CCCLVI.

The Hebrew-Spanish line did not originate in any of our MSS, and there were slight differences in their archetypes.¹ Eleazar is so free in his version as to afford no sure conclusions. The OSpan and JCap have variations which can be ascribed to the translators' free and picturesque treatment of their text, as e.g. the dating of the mission "en tienpo delos rreyes delos gentiles" (OSpan) or "in temporibus regum Edom" (JCap). Again JCap amplifies the explanation of the allegory. Both speak of the chapter of Burzoe the Physician as being prefixed to the other contents, but JCap omits the concluding remark that V Leo et Taurus is the first chapter in the book

Nasrallah, in his own introduction to his translation of KD recounts the tale of the quest for the herb of resurrection which is Kalilah, with no reference to Burzoe or to the introduction of the book to Persia. He then proceeds to relate the translation of this wonderful book first into Pehlevi at the order of Chosroes and then into Arabic at the hand of Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa'. The relevant passage, from the Paris MS 375 (f. 7r.) which in De Sacy's words², "parôit très bon," and dates from the sixth or seventh century of the Hijra, and its translation are subjoined.

¹Cf. l. 3 of my text of the Arabic and note.

²Notices et Extraits, X, I, 137.

یکی را از براهمه هند پرسیدند کی می گویند بجانب هندوستان
کوههاست و دروی داروها می روید کی مرده را زنده می گرداند طریق بدست آوردن
آن چه باشد گفت مصراع،

حفظت شیا* وضاعت عنك اشیا*.

این سخن از اشارت رومیز متقدمانست و آن کوهها علما را خواسته اند و آن داروها
سخنانرا ایشانرا و آن مردکان جاهلان را کی بسمع آن زنده شوند و بسست علم حیات
ابد بایند و این سخنانرا مجموعیست که انرا کلیله و دمنه خوانند و در خزاین ملوک
هند باشند اگر بدست توانی آورد این غرض بحصول پیوند و محاسن این کتاب را
نهایتی نیست و کدام فضیلت ازین فراتر که از امت بامت و ملت بملت رسید و مرود
نکشت. و چون پادشاهی بکسری انوشروان رسید خفف الله عنه العذاب کی صیت
عدل و رافت او بر روی روزگار باقیست و ذکر بام و سیاست او در صدر تواریخ مثبت
تا بدان حد کی سلاطین اسلام را در نکوکاری بدو تشبیه کنند و کدام سعادت ازین
بزرگتر کی پیغامبر صلی الله علیه وسلم گفته است و این شرف او را ارزانی داشته
کی ولدت فی زمین الطک العادل انوشروان مثال داد تا انرا بحیلها از دیار هند
بملکت پارس آوردند و بزبان پهلوی ترجمه کردند و بناه کارها ملک خوش بر مقتضی
آن نهاد و اشارات و مواظب انرا فهرست مصالح دین و دنیا و نمودار سیاست خواص
و عوام شناخت و انرا در خزاین خود موهبتی عزیز و ذخیرتی جسیم شمرده تا آخر
ایام یزدکرد بن شهریار که آخر ملوک عجم بود برین قرار بماند و چون بلاد عراق
و پارس بر دست لشکر اسلام فتح شد و صبح ملت حق بران نواحی طلوع کرد و ذکر این
کتاب بر اسماع خلفا رضی الله عنهم اجمعین می گذشت ایشانرا بدان میلی افتاد
و شعفی می بود تا در نوبت امیر المومنین ابو جعفر عبد الله المنصور بن محمد بن
علی بن عبد الله بن العباس رضی الله عنهم اجمعین که دوم خلیفه بوده است
از خاندان عم مصطفی صلوات الله علیه و رضی عنهم ابن المقفع انرا از لغت پهلوی
تازی ترجمه کرد و آن پادشاه بران اقبالی تمام نمود و دیگر اکابر امت بدو اقتدا
کردند.

Translation. "....And they asked one of the Brahmins of India, saying that in the regions of Hindustan there were mountains on which grew herbs which render a dead man alive. -What is the way in which they may be procured? He said:- (verse)

One thing thou hast, but others things have escaped thee. That utterance is a hint and a sign from the men of old; these mountains mean the wise and these herbs their utterances and the corpses the unenlightened; for on hearing them they become alive and come by the way of knowledge to eternal life. These utterances form a collection which they call Kalilah and Dimnah, and they are in the libraries of the kings of India; if you are able to procure them, desire will have met with attainment. There is no limit to the merits of this book and no excellence is too high for it; it has spread from nation to nation and from people to people and has not been rejected. When the kingship came to Chosroes Anushirwan, - may Allah make light his punishment- the fame of whose equity and bounty lives throughout the world and the memory of whose fortitude and governance is established in history to such a degree that with him they compare the rulers of Islam in benevolence, - may, no felicity is greater than that bestowed by the Prophet- may Allah bless him and grant him peace- when he conferred this honour upon him and said, - I was born in the time of the just King, Anushirwan gave orders for the book to be brought by craft from the lands of India to the kingdom of Persia, and to be translated into the Pehlevi. The foundations of the works of his kingdom he placed upon its indispensability, and its indications and preachments he set as a compendium of affairs religious and secular and an exemplar for the management of courtiers and commonalty. He counted it amongst his private library as a chosen gift and a precious treasure. It remained in this security

till the end of the days of Yazdegird son of Shahryār who was the last of the kings of Persia. But when the territories of 'Iraq and Persia were conquered by the host of Islam and the dawn of the true faith arose upon these lands and the mention of this book came to the hearing of the Califs,- may Allah be pleased with them all- a desire for it came upon them. This desire continued until in the time of the Commander of the Faithful, Abū Ja'far 'Abdallah al-Manṣur b. Muḥammed b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallah b. al-Abbās -may Allah be pleased with all of them, the second of the Califs of the house of the uncle of the Elect One¹ -the prayers of Allah be upon him and may he be pleased with them all, b. al-Muqaffa' made a translation from the Pehlevi tongue into Arabic. That ruler showed perfect acceptance of it, and other great ones of the people imitated him."

¹I.e. Muḥammed.

The Arabic writer, Abū Maṣṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismaʿīl al-Thaʿālibī, whom Zotenberg seeks to identify with his more famous namesake, the author of the Yatīmat al-Dahr, in his Persian history dedicated to Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd the ruler of Ghazna (d. 412 A.H.), gives under the heading "Account of Burzoe the Physician and the Book Kalilah and Dimnah"¹ the same story of the expedition as we meet in KD II Herba. He agrees with the above-quoted passage of Naṣrallah in putting into the mouth of the Indian sage the Arabic verse², -

حفظت شيا و غابت عنك اشيا.

He opens his account by stating that Burzoe was one of the one hundred and twenty Greek, Indian and Persian physicians of Anush-irwan, thus suggesting at least an opportunity for his acquaintance with Sanskrit, although, -at least in Zotenberg's rendering, - he ascribes the actual translation to Buzurjmihr. The section concludes with a notice of the insertion of Burzoe's biography³ and a statement that the book remained in the close custody of the Persian kings until translated into Arabic by b. al-Muqaffaʿ and versified in Persian for the Sāmānīd Emīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (914-943) by Rūdākī. Differences between Thaʿālibī's account and KD II Herba are noticed below. There are no passages identical in language.

It is recognised that Thaʿālibī's work represents a translation of a rather free sort of the Persian prose Shāhnāmah⁴ which was compiled, at the behest of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Maʿmarī, and with the

¹Zotenberg, pp. 629 sqq.

²Thaʿālibī reads غابت with Paris 375 margin against 375 text وضاعت .

³Additional evidence, if our subsequent argument is correct, though ample demonstration has been given by Nöldeke and Kraus, of the presence in the Pehlevi KD of IV Burzoe.

⁴Cf. Enc. of Islam, s.v. Thaʿālibī, and references.

Pehlevi Khudāināmā as its chief source, about 360 A.H. for Abū Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Razzāq, by four men, all Persian in name and probably Zoroastrians.¹ It was from this prose work that Abū 'l-Qāsim Firdausi (d. 1020), who knew no Pehlevi and but little Arabic, continuing the versification begun by Daqīqī, drew most of the material for his Shāhnāmeh. In the course of his description of the exploits of Chosroes Anushirwan, Firdausi gives, with such embellishments as Persian epic style demands, the same account of Burzoe's quest for the plant of life as appears in Tha'ālibī.² The passage commences, in De Sacy's rendering,-

"Il est temps maintenant que je raconte cette histoire que j'ai recueillie des discours de mes devanciers. Prêtez donc attention à ce qu'a rapporté Schadab-bourzin, alors qu'il mit au grand jour ce qui auparavant était caché."

Instead of Shādāb (Schadab)³ the variant Shādān should undoubtedly be read; the name is Pehlevi, -Shātān,⁴ and the person in question is that Shādān son of Burzin from Tūs who was one of the four commissioned to compose the prose Shāhnāmeh. This is the only place in which Firdausi explicitly mentions one of the four as source for an episode, though Nöldeke⁵ would identify with another of their number, Māhōe Khoršēd, son of Bahram, from Shāpūr, the Shāhōe who is given by Firdausi as authority for the Chess story. To what extent duplicates in the Shāhnāmeh are to be attributed to the work of the four prose editors and to what extent

¹Nöldeke, Tabari, p. xxiv.

²Macan, IV, 1746, Mohl, VI, 356; De Sacy, Notices et Extraits, I, 1, 140 sqq. De Sacy, p. 153, init. omits the translation of p. 145, l. 19.

³The name of Firdausi's birthplace, near Tus.

⁴Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, p. 270; "t als d aufzufassen." Justi identifies twenty individuals of the name.

⁵Nationalepos, sec. 15.

Firdausi himself introduced fresh material¹ is uncertain. Little is known of the principles or method of compilation of the four, but it is tolerably certain that they made direct use of no Arabic sources.² The presence of the story in Tha'ālibī debars the possibility that Shādān Burzīn was the author of the story and yet did not introduce it into the Shāhnāme. The absence of the story from the Arabic translations and citations of the Khudāināmak and from most MSS of b. al-Muqaffa' 's version of KD, together with the fact that, unlike II Liber it is never attributed to b. Muqaffa', gives concurrent, though negative evidence for the inference that it was not part of the official national tradition until a later date. Yet some statement regarding the sending of Burzoe must have been inserted in Chosroes' annals if he ever sent him on this mission. The language in Firdausi is notable.- "...what Shadan Burzin said when he revealed the secret from concealment." This suggests that a tale with the motif of the tree of life= the tree of knowledge was in circulation in some apocryphal form, and that what Shadan did was to connect this tale, reputed to be of Indian origin, with the royal record of the Khudāināmak concerning the Mission of Burzoe. Nasrallah repeated this tale in his preface; some one, either a translator or an adapter took Shādān Burzīn's composite account from the prose Shāhnāme and inserted it in KD, and Tha'ālibī and Firdausi also embodied it, in a slightly different recension, in their respective works.

¹This question arises in connection with the end of Firdausi's version of the tale of the search for the plant, where the subsequent translations are discussed.

²Nöldeke, loc.cit. (in Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, II, 146 and n. 4).

باب بعثه برزويه الى الهند .

ذكروا انه انوشروان بن قباد الملك في زمن الاعاجم بعث رجلا يقال له برزويه وكان متطببا وكان رئيس اطبا الملكة وكانت له من الملك مرتبة ومنزله وجلس معروف وكان معها في يده من صنعه الطب عالما حكيماء . فرفع الى الملك يوما كتابا يذكر فيه ما يجد في كتاب الحكماء ان بارض الهند جبالا فيها اشجار وانواع من النباتات ان عرفت وجمعت وخلطت استخرج منها دوا يحيى به الموتى . قال الملك ليحضر برزويه فاحضر فصجد للملك ودعا له بدوام البقا وسال ان ياذن له في طلب ذلك ويقويه بالانفاق عليه ويكتب له الى كل ملك من ملوك الهند في معونته على حاجته واجابه الملك الى ذلك وامر له بما سال وهيا للملوك الذي توجه اليهم برزويه الهدايا على ما كان في سنة الملوك اذ توجه بعضهم الرسل الى بعض في حوايجهم . فسار برزويه في ذلك لا يعرج على شئ حتى وصل الى بلاد. 10 الهند فادى الكتب وما معه الى رجل من اولئك الملوك واستاذنهم في طلب ما قدم به عليهم فاذنبوا له جميعا في ذلك وخلوا بينه وبين طلبته في البلاد والجبال كلها واراحوا عليه بالادلا والاعوان والاله . فاقام على ذلك اثنا عشر شهرا يجمع من تلك الاشجار التي في الجبال والنبات ويخلط بها الادوية الموصوفة في كتبه ويحكم عليها بجهده ثم يعالج بها الموتى فلا يرى ميتا يحيى فارتب برزويه بكتبه واتهمها والتبس عليه امرها وكبر عليه ان يرجع الى الملك خائبا كاذبا مخطيا فشكى ذلك الى اطبا الملوك بارض الهند فاخبروه ان الذي وجده في كتبه قد وجدوا في كتبهم مثبتا وانهم قد عنوا به وطلبوه زمانا في مدتهم حتى وجدوا تاويله في خاصه حكمتهم ان تلك الجبال هي الحكما والعلماء وتلك الاشجار هي الحكمة والعلم الذي صيره الله في قلوبهم وان الادوية التي وصفت هي الكتب التي فيها الموعظ والعلم. 20 وان الموتى الذين يحيون من بعد الادوية هم الجهال من الناس واذا فهموا الامر وعلموها بالاعتباس من تلك الكتب التي تؤخذ عن اولئك العلماء ولم يلبثوا ان يعلموا وبصروا . فلما احسن برزويه ذلك وطلب تلك الكتب فوجدها بلسان الهند بكتابتهم فاستنسخها وانصرف بها الى كسرى انوشروان وكان انوشروان خريصا على جمع العلم

وتقريب العلما مؤثرا لهم على غيرهم مجتهدا في اقتباس العلم والايتار له على كثير من اللذات التي يشغل بها الملوك انفسهم . فامر بترجمته العالم يفتش تلك الكتب وينظر فيها ورفعه الى خاصه خزائن الملك فكان من تلك الكتب هذا الكتاب وهو الذي يسمى كليله ودمته وكان اول باب في هذا الكتاب باب برزوه المتطبب وما وصف به من نفسه ونسبه وما صار اليه من التقلب في الاشيا حتى اداء ذلك الى العداله والتباليه ثم اتبع ذلك ما انتسخ من كتب الهند ومسايل يسأل عنها ملك الهند يقال له ديشلم وزيرا له يقال له ينكرتا وكان اعظم الفلاسفه عنده قدرا وحالا في العلم . وامره ان يجيبه فيها بابا بابا بجواب صحيح متقن وان يضرب لذلك الامثال والاشيا ليستدل على صحه جوابه فيها وان يجمع ذلك في كتاب صحيح ليتخذه اديبا لنفسه ويرفعه في خزانته فيصير ميراثا لمن يكون بعده من الملوك. 10. وكان منه باب الاسد والثور وهو بعد حديث برزوه المتطبب فاقهم ذلك.

Chapter on the Mission of Burzoe to India

It is related that it was King Anushirwan son of Qubad, who in the time of the Persians dispatched a man called Burzoe, who practised medicine and was chief of the physicians in the kingdom. He had his office before the king, his rank and recognised position. In addition to his ability in the art of medicine he was learned and wise. One day he submitted to the king a missive stating what he had found in a book of the wise,- that in the land of India were mountains on which were plants and varieties of herbs which if recognised and gathered and concocted would yield a physic that would restore the dead to life.

The king ordered Burzoe to be brought before him; he was brought and did obeisance before the king, praying for him for length of days, and besought him to permit him to undertake this search and to support him with funds for the purpose, also to write on his behalf to every one of the kings of India for assistance in his undertaking. The king granted his petition, ordaining that what he asked should be done; he prepared gifts for those kings whom Burzoe would visit, according to the usage of kings when they send ambassadors to each other in connection with their affairs.

So Burzoe departed on this errand and tarried for nothing until he reached the land of India and presented the letters and the rest to a man connected with these monarchs, asking their permission for the search which had brought him to them. They interposed no obstacle to his quest throughout the land and all the mountains. They helped him with their guides, helpers and

instruments. He remained twelve months in this way, collecting the trees and herbage on the mountains and compounding therefrom the medicines prescribed in his books, and he did his utmost with them. Then he applied them to the dead but he saw none come to life again. Burzoe became distrustful of his books and suspected them, and their import appeared dubious to him. But it seemed grievous to him that he should return to the King deluded and mistaken, convicted of error. He made this complaint to the royal physicians in the land of India, and they told him that what he had found in his books they had also discovered distinctly stated in their books. They in their turn had worked at it and sought for it for a time until they discovered its interpretation by their special wisdom;- these mountains are the learned and the wise, and the trees are the wisdom and learning which Allah has fashioned in their hearts; the medicines which are prescribed are the books containing admonition and wisdom; the dead who are restored to life as a result of the medicine are the ignorant among men. When they understand things and know them by drawing knowledge from these books which are to be had from these wise men then ere long they have understanding and perception.

When Burzoe approved of this and sought out these books he found them in the Indian tongue in their writing. He copied them and departed with them to Chosroes Anushirwan; now Anushirwan was eager for all learning and for the proximity of the learned, showing preference to them above others, and diligent in gathering wisdom and giving precedence to it over many of those delights with which kings occupy themselves. He ordered Buzurjmihr the sage to investigate those books and to examine them and he set them up in the private library of the king.

Now amongst these books was this book, which is called

Kalilah and Dimnah, and the first chapter in this book is the chapter of Burzoe the Physician, with a description of his character and genealogy and of the vicissitudes of fortune that befel him until he was brought to uprightness and merit. This was followed by what was copied from the books of India and the questions which were put by the king of India called Dīshalm to his vizier called Yankartā, who was the mightiest of the philosophers before him in influence and in state of knowledge. He bade him answer chapter by chapter in a clear and correct answer and to coin the favles and narratives therefor to indicate the truth of his answer to the question and to make a collection in a reliable book that he might receive it as enlightenment to his soul and place it in his library, that it might pass on as a heritage to the kings that should follow him. Among these was the chapter on the Lion and the Bull, which comes after the narrative of Burzoe the Physician. Learn this.

Notes on KD II Herba.¹

P. 14 . Chapter.-"Bāb" and not "Risālah" is the term used in all MSS of this version of the story of the Mission; the phrase "in search of this book" is naturally omitted.

2. In II Liber, Burzoe has no such recognised position and is brought to the king only after diligent search has been made for a man proficient in Persian (Pehlevi) and Indian (Sanskrit).

3. He submitted.- Two of the four MSS point this as a passive,- "there was submitted, brought before the king...", which of course does not exclude the possibility that Burzoe was ultimately responsible for the memorandum; so also JCap (p. 14, 1.5),- "quadam vero die datus est regi quidam liber," followed by the Buch der Beispiele (p. 7,5),- "Uff ain zyt ward dem künig ain bûch geschickt." The Hebrew of Eleazar, so far as it is close enough to count as a witness, supports the active,- "and it came to pass one day that Burzoe was told that in the land of India were high and lofty mountains....and he besought from the king mules and horses."² יַחַי הָיוּ וַיִּגֹּד לְבִרְזוּיָא כִּי בִאֶץ הוֹדוּ חֲרִים וְבוֹחִים

וְרָחִים....וַיִּבְקֹשׁ מִן חֶמֶלךְ פִּרְדִּים וְסוּסִים.

The OSpan concurs with our MSS 24350 and 3467,- "...et dió al rrey de Yndia (sic) una peticion," and is followed by Raymond de Béziere (Hervieux, V, 417) "Et cum iste Berzebuy quoddam folium cuiusdam libri casualiter aspexisset, inuenit....et hoc notificauit regi." -Hence the varying accounts of the mission given by Keith-Falconer (p. xxiii) and Hertel (Pant., p. 365). The ambiguity of the Arabic consonantal text continues as far as 1.8 ("and the

¹References are to page and line of the Arabic text.

²Dérenbourg, p. 319.

king granted his petition"). In Tha'ālibī and the Shāhnāme Burzoe takes the initiative and only one plant is referred to. In II Liber it is the king who, hearing of this precious book, institutes a search for a suitable envoy, as a result of which Burzoe is commissioned to the task.

7. To every one of the kings of India.- Tha'ālibī and Firdausi. with 3900 say "to the king of India."

13. Twelve months.- The period of time is not mentioned in Tha'ālibī or Firdausi, and is equally conventional for Moslem and Zoroastrian time-reckoning.

17. The royal physicians.- The dove-tailing of the herb motif with the account of the mission is very plain here, for all the courtiers must have been cognisant of the errand of the foreigner in their midst. The Shāhnāme and Tha'ālibī are less maladroit, putting the explanation into the mouth of an old sage. Cf. Hervieux, Fab. Lat. V, 90 (1).

24. He copied them.- In Tha'ālibī and the Shāhnāme Burzoe is not allowed to make a copy, but peruses the book daily in the presence of the king, and each evening writes out the day's portion from memory. This accords much better with the Indian attitude to nitiśāstra and to libraries in general. Cf. Hertel, Tant. I, 53.

Eager for all learning.- The encouragement given by Chosroes I to learning of all sorts became proverbial, and he was open-minded and receptive; but the description here is less apt than that of KD II Liber (Ch² 20, 8) where his eagerness is applied particularly to Adab and "guidance to all advantage" i.e. arthaśāstra. (Hertel, op. cit., I, 52).

P.15, 1.2. Buzurjmīhr.- The first appearance of the celebrated vizier in II Herba. In what way he is to 'investigate', 'examine' Burzoe's copy is not clear from our Arabic. Poc. 400 reads

"extract, borrow passages." Zotenberg's rendering of Tha'ālibī¹ - "donna à Bouzourdjmihr l'ordre de traduire le livre" is improbable. De Sacy's version of the Shāhnāmeh, - "je souhaite que Buzurdjmihr, lorsqu'il transcrira ce livre," suggests the true sense.- The royal vizier or his dabīrbedh² is to prepare a copy whose elegance of language and format conforms to the courtly dignity.

4. The first chapter. - No reference is made to the insertion of this present chapter in the book, nor is the presence of Burzoe's Introduction accounted for. The Persian recension refers briefly to the request of Burzoe, of which II Liber gives a full account.

10. His Library. - as in Naṣrallah's Introduction, so here KD is intended by Anushirwan for the private benefit of the royal house. For the respect and fear which its possession inspired in Sassanian times, cf. Tha'ālibī, p. 712; Shāhnāmeh, tr. Mohl, VII, 8.

¹p. 633. — و امر بزرجمهر بنقله.

²Cf. Christensen, L'Empire des Sassanides, 38 sqq.

Chapter III
The Mission to India in Search of the
Book of Kalilah and Dimnah

The first and most important result of an examination of the MSS and versions enumerated in AJSL, XL, 81 sqq. and in Chapter I supra is the broad confirmation of Sprengling's classification of the MSS of KD on the basis of chapter-order. For the present this confirmation must be regarded as valid only for KD II. In the case of a book essentially fictitious in character and 'popular' in circulation, whose contents lend themselves so readily to adaptation and amplification, whose early history in the Arabic is so obscure and whose textual tradition presents so manifest evidences of conflation, it would be absurd to make any general induction from the particular case of a single chapter, - and that an introductory chapter, recognised by many of the MSS to be additional to the proper contents of the book. And if other conclusions should be reached for other parts of the book, we can but hope that they will be such as to shed additional light on the darkness of its textual history.

We may fairly suspect that the first, if not the chief damage was done before the book became a popular work of 'letteratura amēna', and certainly long before the earliest of our MSS was written. Our first difficulty is to know how many authors undertook to present the book in Arabic. The historians of literature from al-Nadīm on recognise 'Abdallah b. al-Muqaffa' as the first to publish the book in Arabic. The Fihrist¹ adds

¹p. 305, l. 15.

"and others"; and Sprengling points out¹ that these are stated simply to have "interpreted" KD; translation is not necessarily meant. Among those "others" one only is known by name, - 'Abdallah b. 'Alī al-Ahwāzī (A.H. 165); all that can be discovered about him is given by Sprengling². The present examination of KD II shows that unless this al-Ahwāzī or b. al-Muqaffa' is responsible for two forms of the chapter, there was at least a third, though whether his activity extended beyond KD II cannot be determined without a closer examination of other parts of the book. The statement in Firdausi³ who is followed by later writers, that the book was translated from Pehlevi into Arabic in the time of Ma'mūn, if it is not a sheer mis-statement or a textual corruption, may be a recollection of some such later translation or remaniement.

Did these later writers work from the Pehlevi or from the Arabic of b.al-Muqaffa' ? Nöldeke was inclined to think that they translated from the Pehlevi⁴; the present study supports this view only insofar as it appears that the author of the longer form of KD II Liber used material not present in the shorter form, which is hardly an abbreviation of the longer form, and that this additional material, together with the shorter form of KD II Liber and KD II Herba probably goes back to a Pehlevi source. In the passages common to the longer and the shorter forms of KD II Liber there is no clear evidence of separate translation. Further it must be noted that a literary knowledge of both Arabic and Pehlevi was not a very common accomplishment, that copies of the book in the Pehlevi were not, at least at an earlier date, easily accessible

¹AJSL, XI, 87.

²Lpc. cit. et seq.

³Mohl, VI, 364.

⁴Mäusekönig, 12; Ann. 2.

and cannot have been numerous, that KD Va¹, allowed to be from the pen of b. al-Muqaffa', is present in all the groups of Arabic MSS, and that while there is no very strong tradition of another translation, it is natural enough that later writers should have sought to 'improve' the style of one of the first authors of Arabic prose.

With regard to the Persian versions of the Arabic we are on surer ground. The oldest extant translation in Persian is that of Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Naṣrallah b. Muḥammed b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, translated for Bahrām-Shāh, ruler of Ghazna A.H. 512-544 or 547 or 548, probably after A.H. 539 (i.e. A.D. 1144-5). Browne² reports a lithographed edition of Naṣrallah by Kādhim al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, published at Tehrān in 1305 A.H., in which are mentioned two earlier editions, lithographed A.H. 1282 and 1304.³ There is also in the possession of Professor Sprengling a printed edition, published A.H. 1347 in Tehrān, with a historical introduction by Mīrzā 'Abd al-'Azim Khān Gurgānī, Professor of Persian Language and Letters at the University and Central Teachers' College. The text of KD II Liber agrees closely with that of the Paris MS 375, and the chapter-order is that of Sprengling's Class B ending in XI King's Son and Fellows.

Of the fragments of the metrical version of Rūdākī preserved in the Lughat-i Furs of Firdausi's nephew, the lexicographer, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Asadī al-Tūsī (fl. 1060 A.D.), none can be assigned to KD II.

¹ May we perhaps see in Va, with its jackal-adviser called by b. al-Muqaffa's Persian name, and the two brothers, some reference to b. al-Muqaffa's own life and his experiences with the sons of 'Alī the 'Abbāsīd?

² Lit. Hist. of the Persians, II, 349.

³ This last at Tabrīz, - Chauvin, II, 25.

De Sacy¹ followed by Hertel² holds that there was an older translation, possibly never finished, executed at the behest of, or possibly by, Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Ubaidallah Bal'ami, vizier of the Sāmānid Emīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (914-943). De Sacy rests his statement mainly on a passage of the Shāhnāmeḥ³ which he supports by referring to the introduction to the Shāhnāmeḥ translated by Wallenbourg (1810) and unfortunately not available at Chicago; according to this notice Bal'ami himself made the translation. By De Sacy's own account, the author of this introduction was "fort peu instruit", and he appears to have drawn largely on Firdausi for his information. The Shāhnāmeḥ is not too clear in its account and it may be taken as meaning that there was but one translation,- that of Rūdākī. That the passage derives not from Firdausi but from his source is probable from its presence, in a very condensed form, in Tha'ālibī.⁴ Tha'ālibī speaks only of b. al-Muqaffa's Arabic and Rūdākī's Persian verse translations. Nasrallah's introduction⁵ mentions no Persian version prior to Rūdākī's versification. On the other hand, the preface of the Anwār-i Suhailī, in terms reminiscent of the Shāhnāmeḥ, speaks of two translations,-⁶ "Dans la suite Abou 'lḥasan Naṣr, fils d'Aḥmed, prince Samanide, ordonna à l'un des savans de son temps de traduire ce livre d'arabe en persan; et par l'ordre du même prince, Roudeghe le mit en vers." The notice of Ḥājjī Khalīfa⁷ calls

¹KD, 37.

²Pant., 405.

³Notices et Extraits, X, i, 146; in the translation, p. 153, l. 14, after "Lorsque ce prince" there have been omitted some such words as "était roi de l'époque dans le monde."

⁴P. 633.

⁵Not. et Ext., X, i, 109-111; ed. 'Abd al-'Azīm, 22, 19; 24, 4.

⁶Not. et Ext., X, i, 96 and 98.

⁷V, 239.

Naṣrallah's the second translation from the version of b. al-Muqaffa'; and although the Arabic can be read to mean that Rūdakī's was the first such translation, it is more natural to construe it, as does Flügel, as referring to two versions prior to that of Naṣrallah, the first of them being made from the text of b. al-Muqaffa', and the second of them, Rūdakī's versification, being based on the first. More likely than that this version was never completed is it that it was almost immediately superseded by the work of the great Rūdakī, or, if his knowledge of Arabic was not very extensive, that it was made expressly for his use.

The translation of Naṣrallah, giving KD II Liber as "Preface to the Book", ascribes the chapter to Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa'.¹ The text of Class D is fairly well adhered to. The solitary MS of Class B (Paris Arabe 3473) has not so close an affinity with the text of Naṣrallah. Besides having the usual numerous and insignificant variants, it presents a longer text than that of A; the additions are more numerous in the second half; in places its text approximates to that of Class C, but on the whole it appears to go with Class A, and it is not so distinctive in its text that we can regard it as representing an independent redaction of the chapter.

The MSS of Class A present a fairly homogeneous text. Paris Arabe 3465 (1483 A), - De Sacy's codex optimus, is not abandoned by him for more than a few words at a time in KD II, but the deviations are numerous. It cannot be said to be the best MS for KD II, but neither can any other in Class A be regarded as definitely superior to the rest. Arabe 3470 (1803)

¹This kunya is found also in the Constantinople MS 4214 cited by Cheikhov, Introduction, p. 12; elsewhere it is Abū 'Amr or Abū Muḥammad; cf. Enc. Islam s.v.; RSO, XII, 245, n. 5; XIV, 1 sq.

lacks DS 32, 8-39, 7; the other Paris MS Arabe 3469 (1502) amplifies, as compared with DS or 3465 in quite a few places. Princeton 17, which is unique amongst the MSS examined in entitling II "Fasl in which is recorded the dispatching...." departs considerably from the text of those other A MSS. It makes frequent additions to the text, and in this and other respects it shows a tendency towards Class C. Thus in the enumeration of the khiṣāl i.e. characteristics by which the intelligence of a man is known, it omits the ordinals, together with 3471, 3472 and 7414 of the Class C. and the solitary 23466 of Class F.¹ Others of its characteristics it shares with MSS of Class D; it agrees with all the MSS of that class, except 3476², 3473, Nasrallah,³ and Ḥajjī Khalīfa⁴ in stating that Burzoe took with him "fifty purses and in each purse ten thousand dinars."⁵ London B.M.Or. 4044, which Sprengling recognised to have affinities with both the A and the C order, may be assigned definitely for its text of II to Class C.

Passing to the Class D, which seems to have represented for both Nasrallah⁶ and Ḥajjī Khalīfa⁷ the text of b. al-Muqaffa' we find a group of ten MSS agreeing more closely among themselves than those of Class A and approximating rather to Cheikho's than

¹3471, 3472 and 23466 insert the ordinal for "the first."

²"...In each purse fifty thousand dinars."

³Ed. 'Abd al-'Azim 29, 9.

⁴Loc. cit.

⁵Cf. DS 34, 4; Ch² 21, 8.

⁶Ed. 'Abd al-'Azim 27, 2.

⁷Loc. cit.

to De Sacy's printed text. Their text tends to be more diffuse than that of Class A, and to occupy a somewhat intermediate position as between A and C. Nöldeke, in his edition of the *Mäusekönig*, recognised the importance of the MS Arabe 3466 (1489) of this class and held that the text published by De Sacy was in many ways an abbreviation of this text. The full title of II in this group, as it occurs in 3479 and with trifling variations in the other MSS, is, - "Chapter (Bāb) of the sending of Burzoe the physician by Anushirwan, King of Persia to the land of India to extract this book from the library of Dīshalm and to copy it and of the craft employed in connection therewith."

Of the three MSS forming Sprengling's Class E, Paris Arabe 3478 has lost II, B.M. Or. 3900 has II Herba, and Arabe 3475 (1601) has a text which presents many unique readings, but tends towards the longer form found in the C MSS enumerated in Chapter I. On the first page of actual text, 3475 gives the first paragraph of this longer version, as found e.g. in the editions of Tabbāra and Yāziǰī; then after four and a half folios, under the usual title comes the rest of II Liber in a fairly typical form, but with the conclusion, from Ch² 27, 13 on, in a considerably abbreviated text. Thus for the Arabic text, Class E is of less importance than for the versions.

Class C presents interesting variations, but falls easily into two main divisions. Besides the MS published by Cheikho, B.M. Or. 8751 is the only MS of Class C which has this chapter complete in the Cheikho form; it is a relatively early MS¹ and closer to the Cheikho text than any other of the MSS examined. London 4044 probably belongs here, likewise the defective illustrated Chicago MS R. Leyden 1544 lacks this and the other initial

¹799 A.H.

chapters; the mutilated Paris Arabe 3467 has only small fragments of II Liber. Several mis-readings or mis-prints remain in the second of Cheikho's editions of the Deir al-Chîr MS.

The text of the longer form occurs in twelve MSS of the C order,¹ as well as in 3475 and the editions of Ṭabbara and Yaziji. Ṭabbara³ (37, 16) omits a passage found in Ṭabbara¹ (44, 12-45, 6) and in all of the MSS except Borgiano 213; just before this passage Paris 3471, 3472, 3474, 5881, Poc. 400, 24350, and 7413 make a further insertion. Again 3474, 5881, 213, M and 4044 speak of Burzoe taking with him "twenty-five purses and in each of them ten thousand dinars"; 3471, 3472, W, V, 7414 together with 23466 of Class F say he took "as much money as he required"; Pococke 400 and 24350, whose text is as close here as in II Herba agree with Simeon Seth in omitting all reference to the horoscopy and the provision of money. Lastly the ordinals in the list of "characteristics of a man's intelligence" are entirely, or almost entirely, absent in 3471, 3472 and 7414 of the present MSS, as also in R, 23466 and Princeton; further 3471, 3472 and 7414, again together with R and 23466, begin the list by mentioning thirteen khisāl. This corruption could not easily arise in the Pehlevi; it is but one of the indications suggesting the true relationship of this longer C text to the others. The Vatican and the Vienna MSS omit the passage describing the khisāl.

The reference to KD II in the list of the Wiener Codex has already been quoted. Here again the list of the Vatican Codex is in perfect agreement;- the first Risalah is KD II Liber, the third Risalah is Buzurjmîhr's eulogy of Anushirwan, and no second

¹ Add Constantinople, Aya Sofia 4214 (A.H. 761) not at present available at Chicago, but cited by Cheikho², Introduction, p. 12.

Risalah is mentioned. With almost complete uniformity the lists and texts of the longer C group give II Liber as "the first Risalah." The list of 5881 describes the contents of the book as consisting of "sixteen Babs and two Risalahs," but does not say what the second Risalah is. The lists of Borgiano 213, B.M. Add. 7414, Guidi's M, Arabe 3471 and 3472 speak of two Risalahs, the first being our KD II and the second that "of Buzurjmihr in praise of Anushirwan"; 7414, 3471 and 3472 mention that this second Risalah is "at the end of the book." Whether the Fihrist knew of the two Risalahs when he wrote of KD as comprising "seventeen, and according to others, eighteen chapters," it is impossible to tell in the present state of our knowledge of the additions to the original KD.

The marginal note in the Borgiano MS is the only trace extant in our texts of this second Risalah. It is difficult to believe that this eulogy, associated with such famous names as Anushirwan and Buzurjmihr, should have disappeared entirely, and the mention of it in the chapter-lists is as good evidence as we can demand that it was once in the book. The simplest solution is to find it in the additional matter presented by those C MSS which list it, and to suppose that one of the editors or translators of the book inserted it at the beginning or end of his edition and that a second, wishing to make his contribution to the perfection of the book, joined it to the story of the mission, in which these two characters were already mentioned.

The seams in this composite account are rather apparent. The addition ends by making Burzoe mount a pulpit and give a public speech. The first paragraph of the shorter II Liber, which comes immediately after, is apposite enough, but from the second paragraph on the redactor has to omit and modify until he reaches

the point where Burzoe departs. The longer version is clearly a development of the shorter. The whole chapter has been heavily 'Islamised', but although b. al-Muqaffa' in a translation executed as a diplomatic commission for al-Mansur, might have seized the opportunity to insert Persian propaganda in a context where it would be least suspected, there is so little tendencious matter in this laudation of Chosroes and his interest in Adab that it must have come from another hand. This conclusion is supported by the fact that both Ḥajjī Khalifa and Naṣrallah¹ appear to recognise as b. al-Muqaffa's a text belonging to the families offering the shorter version of II Liber.

De Sacy thought that 3467 represented the redaction of al-Ahwāzī²; his only reason seems to have been the sharp divergence of its text from that of 3465 and his other MSS. From what we know of the versions it is not possible to say whether al-Ahwāzī should be credited with this form of II Liber or with II Herba.

¹Unless indeed Naṣrallah or his Arabic original simply transposed the authors of II and III; he imputes III Muqaffa' to Buzurjmīhr.

²DS, p. 60.

Chapter IV

The Historicity of Burzoe's Mission

The date of the introduction of KD to Persia may be regarded as fairly established. The lower limit is given by the Old Syriac translation made in 570 A.D. Internal and external tradition consistently ascribes the undertaking to Chosroes I Anushirwan, and although his reputation for enlightenment has been much magnified by later writers, there is no reason for putting the Pehlevi translation earlier. Chosroes had no fear of foreign influences other than Turkish and probably had more interest in letters than any of his predecessors. The Hephthalite menace induced him to extend the Sassanian empire eastwards, and he recaptured for Persia several territories which had been lost by earlier monarchs, including, according to Tabari, Sind, Bost, Arachosia, Zabulistan, Tocharistan, Dehistan and Kabulistan.¹ Two issues of coins are known to have been struck in distant Multan in the 21st and 37th years of the reign of his grandson, Chosroes II.² But this marks the limit of Sassanian dominion; Meyer's judgement³ - "neither the territories north of the Oxus, nor eastern Afghanistan nor the Indus provinces, were ever subject to them" certainly obtains for the later Sassanian period.

"Dass im sehten Jahrhundert ein diplomatischer Verkehr zwischen persischen und indischen Höfen stattfand, braucht kaum erwähnt zu werden," writes Hertel⁴. The evidence on the Persian

¹Cf. Noldeke, Tab., 156 and n. 1; Marquart, Erānshahr, 39.

²Fardoonjee D. J. Paruck, Sasanian Coins, p. 125.

³Enc. Brit.¹⁴ XVII, 585b. ⁴Tant., I, 52.

side is rather meagre and romantic. The Shāhnāmah's account of exchange of the games of chess and nard is preceded by a relation of the mutual threats of the Indian Rajah and of Chosroes I to exact tribute of one another.¹ Tabari² mentions envoys at the court of Chosroes from the Turks, Chinese, Khazars and such (distant) peoples, but does not specify any from India. Ibn Miskawaih,³ purporting to quote from an alleged autobiography of Anushirwan, cites him as declaring that in one day he received ambassadors from the rulers of Rome, Kabul, Serendib⁴, etc. and twenty-nine kings. Mas'udi⁵ speaks of the kings of India and Sind making treaties of peace with Chosroes,--probably defensive alliances against the White Huns.

More regular and of greater importance to Persia than any desultory diplomatic intercourse was the commercial communication between India and Persia. Camphor,-- a distinctively Indian product,-- is mentioned in the Syrian book of medicine⁶ of the Greek medical school of Edessa of SS. III-V A.D., and although many of its sources are Alexandrian, this does not alter the fact that at that time camphor was one of the articles of Indo-western commerce, and,

¹Mohl, VI, 306 sqq., 312 sqq.

²P. 167.

³Apud Nuwairi, (cf. Tab. 168 n. 1).

⁴I.e. Ceylon; Tab. speaks of a military expedition sent by Chosroes to Ceylon after 570 A.D.,-- "nachdem nun Jemen dem Chosrau unterworfen war, sandte er auch nach dem Edelsteinlande Serendib, welches zu Indien gehört, einen seiner Befehlshaber mit zahlreichen Truppen; dieser griff den König an, tödtete ihn, eroberte das Land und brachte dem Chosrau von dort viel Geld und Edelsteine mit." - p. 250. Cf. Hamza al- Isfahani, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 58.

⁵Prairies d'Or, II, 200.

⁶Ed. E. Wallis Budge.

being relatively small in bulk, it may well have been brought by the overland route, at least from the Persian Gulf.¹ From Parthian times on Obollah, called Apologus² near the mouth of the Euphrates was a port for the importation of lignum sagalinum, teak wood, with which a part of the houses, possibly also of the ships, was built.³ In the latest Sassanian times it had to be fortified against the attacks of Indian pirates, and must therefore have been a place of some wealth. That it was a permanent settlement is indicated by the fact that it contained a temple, dating perhaps from Parthian times, and similar to that at Zamīn-i Dāwar in Zābul, which Qubād in 508 is said to have taken by the aid of the prayers of Christians.⁴ It was dedicated to the Indian god Žūn, a Brahmanical fish-deity,⁵ this port and market continued until A.H. 16 when 'Otba b. Ghazwān captured it for Sa'd after the battle of Qadisiya and the merchants fled by sea.⁶ But the penetration of foreign influences extended further inland; by the fifth century A.D. Hira, then on the west bank of the Euphrates river, had become a port with a regular yearly market, and vessels are said to have congregated there from Arabia, the Red Sea, India and China.⁷ Through such channels must have come the Indian doctor whom Shāpūr II (310-379) settled at Šūs⁸ and such rare articles as the "sword of the king of Hind" collected in the plunder of al-Medāin in A.H. 15.

These indications show that the chief connection of Persia

¹JAOS, XLII, 359, art. by Schoff.

²Marquart, Eransahr, 307.

³M. Reinaud, Relation des Voyages, I, xxxiv.

⁴Marquart, Sachau-Festschrift, 278.

⁵Possibly, according to Marquart's suggestion, as symbol of sea and trade.

⁶Muir, Caliphate, 122.

⁷Kremer, Kulturgeschichte, II, 274; Hamza al-Isfahami (ed. Gottwaldt), p. 102.

⁸Tab., 67.

with India in the Sassanian period were commercial rather than political and maritime rather than overland, and that the main stream of traffic was in the westward direction.¹ In the first century of Islam the chief current was in the contrary direction, and the west coast of India was sprinkled with Arab trading-posts, some of which had to be forcibly maintained, while others were tolerated in peace.² Only towards the end of S. VII A.D., and by the combined efforts of land and sea forces could the Moslems penetrate inland to Brahmān-Ābād and al-Multān.³

In the light of all this the way chosen by Burzoe must appear eminently reasonable, avoiding as it did the uncertainties of a sea-voyage in a foreign vessel and of the longer land journey through the wholly foreign Indus valley. If Burzoe was born at Merv⁴ he would have every chance to know something of the topography and language of the eastern frontier country as well as of Indian medicine.⁵ The imperial post would secure the convoy of the emissary of the king of kings at least to the boundary. From Kabul, or less probably from Ghazna, he may well have proceeded down the valley of the Kabul River, or even through the Khyber Pass to Peshawar and the home of the Pantchatantra, or to Multan by the route which later was followed by the Moslem barīd.⁶ His ultimate destination remains indefinite, but was certainly in the North-west.⁷ It was no light journey and thus there is considerable vraisemblance in KD II's description of his appearance on

¹Cf. the unfamiliarity of the Shāhnāmah with sea-faring; Nationalgeogr., sec. 38.

²Kremer, Kulturgeschichte, II, 276.

³Reinaud, I, xlv; Muir, Caliphate, 353.

⁴Istakhri, 262, l. 11; whence does Justi draw his statement (Namenbuch, p. 74) that he was born at Nīshāpūr?

⁵Hertel, Pant., 367 and refs.

⁶Sprenger, Post- und Reiserouten, Karte 14.

⁷Cf. Hertel, Pant., 20, 69, and the 'Stammbaum' on p. 426.

his return,- "When the king saw the fatigue and toil that he had undergone, he had pity on him...."¹

It is difficult to say with confidence how much of our accounts goes back to the Pehlevi. The Indian traits in our KD II have been admirably annotated by Hertel.² Another parallel might be added here; with DS, 36, 11-12, compare Tantrakhyayika III, 52,- "....und erst redet wenn er es sich richtig überlegt hat."³ But literary borrowings are notoriously difficult to trace with any certainty, and with many of the parallels of this sort it is likely enough that the Pehlevi or the Arabic translator consciously or unconsciously borrowed from the text of the tales of KD, just as the theme of the advantages of silence over speech is rehearsed by the author of KD I and is referred to by b. al-Muqaffa' in Va⁴. The simile of the spark produced by the contact of opportunity in KD II⁵ may be just such a borrowing from KD V⁶; it recurs in al-Adab al-Kabīr, p. 67⁷.

B. al-Muqaffa' had no direct contact with Indian life; the accuracy with which the Indian traits are reproduced even in our faulty Arabic texts is a sure indication of their presence in the Pehlevi and of their derivation from Burzoe's experience.

Features which are known to have been characteristic of Sassanian Persia are less reliable evidence, for even where they do not obtain equally for pre-Islamic Arabia, they were frequently taken over by the Moslems and their mention in KD II may thus be an Arabic insertion. Thus the Sassanian kings used to divide

¹Ch², 25, 20.

²Tant., I, 52, sqq.

³Hertel, Tant., I, 16.

⁴DS, 142, 4-5.

⁵DS, 32, 5 sqq.

⁶DS, 88, 7.

⁷Sec. 57 ad fin.; Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, II, 66.

clothes from their treasury on New Year's Day and on Mihragān-Day¹ and to honour distinguished citizens and foreign ambassadors with the gift of a robe of honour, but this custom was adopted by the Moslems.² From its mention in KD II³ no specific deduction can be made. A similar difficulty confronts us when we seek stylistic parallels in the other works of B. al-Muqaffa'.⁴ The tone in which the qualities of the courtier are described in al-Adab al-Kabīr is similar to that in which the characteristics of the 'aql al-rajl are enumerated in KD II, although some of the characteristics are closer to those desiderated in the ordinary person in the Adab.⁵ B. al-Muqaffa' may be quoting himself in these parallel passages, but it is equally possible that the passages in question of our KD II derive from the same Pehlevi andarz-tradition through the Pehlevi of KD II.

The Persian of Naṣrallah does not promise much help for the reconstruction of the Pehlevi original. He is faithful to the Arabic text in KD II and he has a just appreciation of the character of the book. But the book had already received a considerable amount of Islamic veneer; his vocabulary is strongly Arabicised,⁶ and it is just in those moralistic sententiae in which we should like to have the Pehlevi original that he most regularly chooses Arabic words.

KD II Liber has something in common with KD II Herba, - the characterisation of Burzoe, the interest of Anushirwan in the undertaking, the attitude towards KD as a nitiśastra, and the

¹B. Qutayba, Kitāb al-Ta'ī, 146, 149.

²Christensen, L'Empire des Sassanides, 76, 100.

³DS, 40. Cf. KD V (DS, 94).

⁴Cf. RSO, XIII, 220 sqq.

⁵Cf. AK, 29, 33, 47 and Ch² 23, 8; AK 48 and Ch² 23, 2 and 5; AK 78 and Ch² 23, 6; AK 55 (al-Durrah al-Yatimah) Beyruth, 1879 17, 18 and Ch² 24, 6.

⁶About 50 Arabic words to 10 lines of 'Abd al-'Azīm's edition or over 40%.

personage of Buzurjmīhr. Christensen¹ has shown that Buzurjmīhr, who is never mentioned by the Byzantine or Armenian historians, is a fiction of post-Anushirwanic days and a modification of Burzmihr, of which name Burzoe is the hypocoristic form. But although Buzurjmīhr cannot have been mentioned in the Khudāšināmak of Chosroes' time, some record of Burzoe's expedition was present there together with a reference to the imperial vizier's receipt of the royal copy of KD, and possibly also to his imprimatur on the insertion of Burzoe's autobiography. This reference was later attached to the name of Buzurjmīhr. Shādān son of Burzīn in the prose Shāhnāmah combined this record with a romantic tale of the plant of immortality in the manner described in Chapter III. But at an earlier date the same passage was extracted and in an amplified form prefixed to KD.² B. al-Muqaffa' rendered this along with the rest of the book into Arabic, adding a few Islamic touches, which were intensified by later redactors. Finally one of the editors prefixed to this chapter an otherwise unknown pseudepigraphic composition, probably Pehlevi in origin, in which Buzurjmīhr eulogises Chosroes Anushirwan.

¹Act. Or., VIII, 81 sqq.

²DS, 42, 3-4, which must be translated, - "...make it the first of the chapters that are read, i.e. before the chapter of the Lion and the Ox," shows that IV was a part of the book before II.

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